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CPSU Coordination of International Communist Movement:
Implementation of CPSU Directives for Action by Latin
American Communist Parties Following the November 1957
Moscow Meetings

Summary: At the celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution in Moscow in November 1957, an action program for the Latin American CP's was planned under Soviet Communist Party direction. Stress was placed on strengthening the Peace Movement, the main purpose of which is to weaken the United States economy, planning anti-imperialist cultural and economic campaigns, and improving regional coordination and fraternal support among the CP's. A general upsurge in Communist planning and activity in Latin America patterned after the major decisions reached in Moscow has followed. An intensification of anti-American activities, improvements in regional coordination and increased attention to "solidarity" and other issues have been manifested. At a "Conference of the North" during 26-27 March 1958 significant recommendations were made including: the identification of the peace struggle, the main purpose of which is to weaken the United States economy, as the most important single effort of international Communism; the continuation and strengthening of the CTAL; the expansion of trade with the Soviet bloc; and the establishment of an information-exchange office in Mexico City to serve the CP's of the Northern Zone of Latin America. The peace congress held in Buenos Aires on 16-18 May under the title Argentine Congress for International Cooperation, General Disarmament and National Sovereignty probably was the occasion for further high-level planning involving both northern and southern CP's with respect to the development of the new economic and cultural offensive. It is possible that at this conference a permanent hemispheric Peace Secretariat was established in Buenos Aires. A conference "in defense of culture" and an economic conference "of all forces capable of opposing imperialism" discussed at the Moscow session, are still in the early planning stages.

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Introduction

The 40th Anniversary celebrations of the CPSU in Moscow were attended by delegates from at least 76 foreign countries and at least 67 foreign CP's. The CP's of the Soviet Bloc, meeting separately, issued a Twelve-Party Declaration. Another conference, involving all CP delegations in a plenary session on the order of an international Control Commission, resulted in a Peace Manifesto signed by 63 foreign CP's. In addition to these conferences larger multilateral meetings of CP representatives took place, involving for the most part CP's of specific geographic regions in order to discuss common problems and programs. One such regional conference involved the CP's of Latin America.

The Moscow directives

In general it may be said that for the Latin American CP's the major directives deriving from the Moscow meeting fell into 3 categories: (a) the Declaration and Peace Manifesto themselves; (b) the Suslov speech; and (c) the discussions and programs covered in the regional meeting.

The Declaration and Manifesto

Both the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto were intended as general directives for the International Communist Movement. Their importance in this regard was reiterated in various CPSU media following their initial publication, in speeches by numerous CPSU officials commenting on the conferences, and in the attitudes of CPSU officials toward the visiting foreign Communists in Moscow. The Latin American CP delegates were urged to return home as soon as possible in order to explain fully to their respective parties the meaning of the resolutions and to begin work to realize them. It is known that in early 1958 one Latin American CP reprinted about fifty copies of each resolution and planned to hold extensive discussions about them within the top echelon of the party. Before a broader party

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discussion took place, the party leadership desired to insert alongside the resolutions the proper application of the party line in that particular country. In another CP, preliminary discussion of the resolutions and plans for implementing them were assigned to groups of party functionaries, each group composed of individuals most knowledgeable about the respective documents.

The Suslov speech

The Suslov speech -- a long one -- constituted an authoritative assessment of the International Communist Movement and clarified for the delegates the over-all direction of the movement and the general tasks of all CP's -- particularly as these tasks affect the CP's in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Suslov compared the influence of the Socialist and capitalist camps, commented on the favorable conditions for consolidation of Communism, stressed the peace offensive as the counter-offensive to be taken against Western military pacts, and criticized the neglect of "mass problems" by the CP's. He analyzed the theory of different roads to socialism, discussed the real meaning of the cult of personality, and stressed the role of the bourgeoisie in a Communist-directed "revolution." Copies of the speech were circulated among the delegates at the conference but were collected afterwards. However, notes taken on the Suslov speech were smuggled home by some Latin American delegates, and it has been evident that the contents of the speech have been drawn on heavily by returning delegation leaders in their reports on the Moscow meetings made to their respective parties.

The regional meeting of Latin American delegates

Specific directives for the Latin American CP's derived from the regional meeting of the Latin American delegates, where the practical implementation of the general programs was discussed, and specific regional issues were considered. The meeting was attended not only by all the Latin American delegations and by certain

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CPSU officials, but also by Chinese delegates. The presence of the latter was undoubtedly associated with the increased responsibility assumed by CP China for aiding the Latin American CP's. It is known, for example, that at some time during the Moscow meetings plans were made for the training of Latin American Communists in China as well as in the USSR.

The regional meeting was arranged by the CPSU and presided over by the CPSU's Latin American specialist "Sivolov".* At the session selected Latin American delegates spoke on various aspects of party work in different countries, but the major commentary was delivered by "Sivolov." Many points made by him proved to be a prelude to subsequent CP activity in Latin America.

- a. He criticized the Latin American CP's for a lack of solidarity. He pointed out that the last week in January should be declared a "week of solidarity with the Cuban people." The CP's were also told they should mobilize to effect the liberation of the imprisoned Venezuelan Jesus Faria;
- b. He declared that not only must the CP's attempt a greater interchange but also must increase anti-American sentiment in the area in order to destroy the "rearguard of the principal imperialist power." Every CP must mobilize the Latin American people against American imperialism;
- c. He stated that it was absolutely necessary to hold a "conference of the north", by which was meant a conference to include the CP's from Panama to Canada. The Mexican and Cuban CP's were given the task of preparing and carrying out the plans for such a conference.

* "Sivolov" undoubtedly refers to the head of the Latin American section within the CC/CPSU Foreign Section, who may be A. M. Sivolobov, who has written several articles on Latin American CP matters.

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d. He also declared that it was absolutely necessary to reaffirm and revive the peace movement. He proposed that a peace conference be held in Argentina around the middle of 1958. Preparations for the conference were left to the Argentine CP;

e. In connection with a discussion of an OAS conference planned for 1959 or 1960, a conference of CP's also was proposed for the purpose of opposing OAS resolutions. The CP conference should be called something like "conference for defense of culture."

In addition, the delegates discussed the holding of an economic conference of "all forces capable of opposing imperialism." The time and place for this conference was not set. Considerable discussion also centered around the Confederacion de Trabajadores de la America Latina (CTAL), with some delegates recommending that it be abolished and other suggesting that it be strengthened.

General effect of the Moscow meetings -- anti-American activities

The general impact of the Moscow conferences, the exchange of views among the Latin American CP's, and especially the action program put forth by the CPSU appear to have infused the Latin American CP's with new vigor and strengthened their desire to prove their effectiveness in the International Communist Movement. The intensification of anti-American propaganda, recommended at the Moscow meetings, is being carried on with the aid of direct and indirect assistance from the CPSU. On 20 March -- just prior to the northern CP conference -- the Secretary General of the Mexican CP confided to a few friends that CP's throughout Latin America were receiving specific instructions regarding the strategy to use in the present US economic crisis. He made it clear that the instructions emanate from some high-level agency* devoted to the planning of

* The Mexican Secretary General reportedly referred to this agency as a "high command". No further details are available, but it seems likely that the reference is to the Foreign Section of the CC/CPSU.

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political-economic strategy for Latin America. The CP's were being instructed to utilize the effects of the US crisis in order to stimulate further the already smoldering revolutionary spirit evident in some Latin American countries; and were to intensify anti-US propaganda and agitation in all those countries. It is also known that the Panamanian CP Secretary General, while in Moscow, was interviewed by CPSU members who quizzed him on the activities and works by Panamanian authors dealing with the Panama Canal sovereignty issue. Subsequently, a Venezuelan Communist in Mexico offered to pay the Panamanian CP for articles on this subject. (Other information on this Venezuelan Communist shows him to be involved in negotiations between a Costa Rican Communist author and publishers in an Eastern European Satellite.)

Soviet financial support

From a practical point of view, it is also apparent that the Latin American parties are confident that subsidization from Soviet sources will enable them to underwrite their new activities. While details are lacking, it is evident that arrangements for CPSU economic aid must be counted among the accomplishments of the Moscow meetings. Such arrangements were made at bilateral conferences between party delegates. In the case of the one CP, this matter is known to have been a topic of conversation in the talks held between CPSU officials and the secretary general of the party, the CPSU stating that it was "disposed to offer economic aid...on the basis of reciprocal respect." Evidence suggests that among the various channels to be employed in this respect will be: (a) payments made through international front organizations; (b) the use of "royalties" paid for Communist writers as a result of "publication" of their works in the USSR; and (c) gifts to smaller and weaker CP's via larger parties.

Party improvements and fraternal support

The Moscow meetings not only resulted in new activities for the Latin American CP's as a whole, they also appear to have sparked

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various improvements within individual CP's. The Dominican CP, operating in exile, has shown unprecedented organizational activity. Since the Moscow meetings, it has clandestinely published party statutes, commenced the publication of a party theoretical organ, and has revitalized its newspaper. A new political "unity" front has been formed in Venezuela to attract non-Communist Dominican exiles, and a party Central Committee meeting is being planned. Fraternal support among the parties is also being directed in part at the improvement of individual CP's. The Venezuelan CP is known to have offered to help the Panamanian CP, while the Cuban CP has offered to help the Honduran CP; in both cases a printing press is involved. The Cuban CP has also offered assistance to the Guatemalan CP, but it is not yet clear what form this assistance will take. The Brazilian CP is preparing to aid the Bolivian CP. The Costa Rican CP, which offered help to the Nicaraguan party, has reportedly been called upon by the latter to send an experienced leader to assist in a reorganization of the Nicaraguan party and in its labor penetration program. Other improvements to be expected within individual CP's include a re-vamping of certain CC section (Liaison, Agitprop, and Technical departments) in order to handle party work more effectively.

Specific follow-up activities

The Moscow meetings have been followed by a general upsurge in Communist planning and activity in Latin America which has been patterned after the major decisions reached in Moscow: increased regional coordination and exchanges among the CP's, stress on the "peace" issue, strengthening the Communist-controlled labor movement, and exploitation of anti-American and imperialist issues.

Conference of northern CP's

By early January, plans were underway to implement the conference of "northern zone CP's" which was demanded by "Sivolov" in Moscow. The Mexican and Cuban CP's -- charged with responsibility for the conference -- began the necessary arrangements. Mexico was chosen as the site. During February, a Cuban Communist traveled to all the

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northern CP's to brief them on the arrangements for the meeting, the agenda, and the financial assistance to be given to cover transportation costs of delegates. The conference was held clandestinely on 26 and 27 March and was attended by delegates from the CP's of Mexico, Guatemala, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Panama, Cuba and Venezuela. The Nicaraguan and Honduras CP's sent written reports. Whereas Venezuela chose to attend this conference, CP Colombia apparently preferred to be linked with the "southern zone CP's" whose own regional meeting had been held some time before. Arrangements for increased regional coordination with CPUSA and CP Canada were planned for the near future. (In April it was learned that two Canadian Communist functionaries, both members of the party's sub-committee on international relations, were scheduled to visit Mexico and other Latin American countries in order to systematize relations with the Latin American CP's.)

The conference agenda generally followed that of the regional session in Moscow. Delegations prepared written reports on the party situation in each country, and these were mimeographed for use during the conference; all copies were subsequently destroyed except for one copy of each report which was forwarded to the CPSU. The delegates reached the following major conclusions:

a. Peace tactics

that the peace struggle is the most important single effort of international Communism because peace will weaken the US economy which is based on war production. It was decided that the previous method of emphasizing national peace committees would be dropped in favor of using all available media and fronts which are subject to party influence and direction. Steps toward hemispheric coordination of a propaganda campaign were to be initiated at the Argentine Peace Congress which was scheduled for mid-May. (This congress was also one of the actions proposed by "Sivolov" and the Argentine CP had begun preparations to hold it in Buenos Aires.) If necessary, further coordination discussions could take place at the World Peace Congress in Stockholm in July. All CP's were to send to the Argentine Congress one delegate empowered to make party commitments;

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b. Future of the CTAL

that the CTAL should be continued, with headquarters in Mexico, unless and until a unification with the anti-Communist ICFTU regional affiliate (ORIT) permits establishment of a single hemispheric labor organization. Further discussions were scheduled to take place in September at the next CTAL anniversary celebration, by which time each CP should prepare a detailed written report on how to improve the organization;

c. Regional office and exchange of representatives

that an "office" be established in Mexico to receive and disseminate northern zone CP comments and reports. It was also agreed that the occasional mutual exchange of party directors should take place. (The described function of the "office" suggests that it will constitute a regional "information bureau", the organizational mechanism once ascribed to the Cominform).

Conference of Southern CPs

It is known that a Conference of the CPs of the southern zone (South America, except Venezuela) was held prior to the Conference of CPs of the northern zone. However, no details concerning it are available, except that delegates from the northern zone also attended it.

Hemispheric Conference of All CPs

It is known that the CPs of the two zones planned to hold a hemispheric meeting of CP leaders under the cover of a peace congress in Buenos Aires in May 1958. Parties were to send representatives fully-empowered to make agreements regarding coordinated Communist activities. At the peace congress the possible establishment of a Peace Secretariat in Buenos Aires was to be discussed.

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A peace congress was held in Buenos Aires on 16-18 May. Its official title was the Argentine Congress for International Cooperation, General Disarmament and National Sovereignty. Reports on its proceedings have not as yet been received, but intensive investigation is underway to obtain the essential facts.

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Other improvements in regional coordination

General improvement in liaison arrangements among the CP's has been evident. During January, an Argentine representative of the WFDY made a trip through various Latin American countries. The purpose of his trip was to discuss plans for a Latin American youth congress to be held possibly in Mexico or Brazil; he was also traveling in order to encourage local Latin American CP's and youth organizations to utilize every opportunity to infiltrate and influence non-Communist organizations and congresses (e. g. the International Congress of Americanists, to be held in Costa Rica in July 1957). And between various individual CP's liaison arrangements are evidently under review. The Nicaraguan CP, for instance, has asked the Costa Rican party to send a party representative to Nicaragua once a month in order to maintain inter-party liaison; it has also asked the Costa Rican CP to arrange similar liaison visits from other Central American CP's. In another example, the Guatemalan and Honduran CP's are planning joint discussion of common problems.

Issues of "solidarity"

"Solidarity" issues among the Latin American CP's are being given some attention as a result of the statements by "Sivolov" in Moscow. As a first step in implementing the "week of solidarity with the Cuban people", the Cuban CP issued an "open letter" dated 1 January to CP's throughout the world. This discussed the party's policies and its position vis-a-vis the "bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties"; it disclaimed Communist support of violence but placed emphasis on the party's role in strikes and mass action.

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The tangible results of this letter are unknown, but it is possible that support was received through this channel from other parties, including those of the USSR, the Satellites and China. Moscow's continued interest in this issue was shown by a February circular received in Cuba from the WFDY in which the WFDY proposed that all youth and student organizations in Latin America celebrate the week of 17-23 March as a week of solidarity with Cuban youth.

Support of "Sivolov's" other solidarity proposal - a coordinated effort to secure the release of Jesus Faria - was evidenced in a resolution passed by CP Argentina in December 1957. The need for coordinated action, however, was largely negated by the release of Faria and other political prisoners during the general strike of 22-24 January which overthrew the Venezuelan government. The success of this strike, led by a "patriotic front" in which CP Venezuela was represented, has been widely hailed by other CP's. The Costa Rican CP, for instance, held a meeting on 22 January to express "solidarity with the Venezuelan people in their struggle."

Latin American Communist journalists are playing an increasingly important role in the coordination of Communist propaganda, and are currently seeking to develop a regional Latin American writers' organization. It is reasonable to attribute the intensity and the coordination of the anti-Nixon demonstrations in Latin America, as well as the non-Communist support they enjoyed, in part to the ability of Communist and pro-Communist journalists and writers to convert popular issues into grievances, particularly in those countries until recently under strong authoritarian regimes. It is believed that the anti-Nixon demonstrations in Peru were organized largely by Genaro Carneio Checa, a very important Peruvian Communist journalist with close Soviet connections.

In connection with intensified anti-American activities in Latin America, it is apparent that efforts have been made since the Moscow meetings to bring about more direct contact between Soviet and Latin American Communist agitprop specialists. In late 1957, a Pravda representative arrived in Mexico where he contacted Communist leaders.

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Concurrently, a Soviet delegation, including a former vice-president of the International Organization of Journalists and a member of the International Department of the Union of Soviet Writers, arrived in Uruguay. The stated purpose of their trip was to "establish friendly relations with youth and intellectuals." Subsequently, between 28 April and 4 May, a group of Soviet journalists arrived in Argentina. This group, which hopes to visit other Latin American countries,

[REDACTED] some who have histories of fostering "struggles against the US and colonialism,"* and others experienced in the USSR's cultural offensive abroad. At the same time, a member of a group of Soviet trade unionists now in Latin America is believed to be identical with a known Latin American specialist in the International Department of the USSR's All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

Communist anti-American activity in Latin America is also expected to be directed at the following points which were discussed at the conference of northern CP's (a) expanded trade with the Soviet Bloc; (b) the claim that a wider market provides safeguards against the fluctuating economic conditions in the US; and (c) increased party efforts against US companies operating in Latin America. The conference "in defense of culture" and "the economic conference of all forces capable of opposing imperialism" are apparently still in the early planning stages. The northern CP's discussed the holding of a "People's Conference", similar to those held in Bandung and Cairo, but nothing concrete has yet been accomplished; the CP's of Brazil, Argentina and Chile are reported to be responsible for organizing this effort.

* For example, A. V. Sofronov, chief editor of Ogonek, was reported during his 1957 travels in the Middle East to be arranging for a conference to foster the Communist struggle against the US through exploitation of the colonialism issue. Another member of the group, D. F. Kraminov, representing Pravda, was reported in 1948 to be one of the editors of the Cominform journal.

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Training

Among the results of the Moscow meetings, special mention must be made of the arrangements for training Latin American Communists in the USSR and China. Although Latin American Communists have in the past attended CPSU training establishments -- and a few have also received party training in China -- an expanded program was evidently decided upon in Moscow. One party -- the Panamanian -- was allotted two training slots, one in the USSR and one in China. Some ten or more additional slots were allotted other Central American CP's in China. Although contradictory reports have been received as to which CP's are involved in the current Chinese training program, the best evidence specifies that the CP's are those of Costa Rica, El Salvador and Ecuador (in addition to Panama). It is known that the trainees have already departed for China and that the Soviet Embassy in Mexico assisted in the arrangements and provided financial assistance. The Chinese training is reported to be only of one month's duration and is to be concerned largely with peasant work, in which the Chinese CP is particularly experienced. A second session is believed to be planned later in the year for other CP's.

Within the USSR, training of foreign Communists is generally of a much longer duration (two to four years), covers many subjects, and is known to be centered largely at the CPSU's Higher Party School. The Panamanian trainee, for instance, will be gone for two years and will attend the Higher Party School. Trainees from several other Latin American CP's are known to be enrolled here at the present time.

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J. HENRY SCHRODER BANKING CORPORATION
FIFTY SEVEN BROADWAY
NEW YORK 15, N. Y.

WILLIAM A. TUCKER
VICE PRESIDENT

July 25, 1958

Dear Allen:

You were kind enough to tell me the other day that you would give me a letter of introduction to Ambassador Thompson in Moscow.

I have just been informed that my Russian visa has come through so that I am now definitely planning to take off. Incidentally, this is strictly a pleasure trip and I am traveling alone.

My itinerary calls for arrival in Leningrad from Helsinki on August 27 and then to Moscow on September 1. I am scheduled to leave Moscow on September 8 for Vienna.

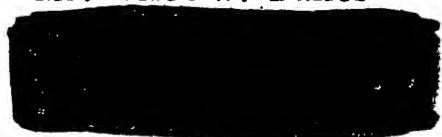
I shall be ever so much obliged if you will write our Ambassador.

With many thanks for your trouble and with best personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Bill Tucker

Mr. Allen W. Dulles



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